

R

531 I asked about personal names and found that the suku name is not used as a personal family name. What they do is the same as the Scandinavians and Arabs and old Jews. They indeed usually employ only their own names preceded by their Christian names, if any. But if asked, they will also give their father's name after their own name. Thus my assistant is Migo. His church name is Adrianus. His father's name was Pega. Usually he calls himself Adrianus Migo, but if pressed he will say Adrianus Migo Pega. The same holds for the kapitan, who is Mani and whose father was Api. The giri tumba is Raki, and his father Dura. Thus in full, Migo is Adrianus (Church) Migo Pega of suku Odja. They
197 said that no one in the kampong could speak Dutch, and perhaps only a little more than ten per cent could speak Malay. There is one man
[212] (Bapa Ketjil of Aiutu, an old man who chews betel and has almost no teeth) who can write in the Ende script. They call it tulisan lontar. They say that in Ende town alone it is well known, but outside of the town it is rare.

595 The wife of the Controleur says that the
183 Radja of Manggarai is a Catholic, although he has two wives. This is a nice problem. The former Radja of Lio was brought back from exile by the Japanese during the war. Later he was executed by the Dutch because he murdered so many Dutch, Australians, etc. But he also killed many children for the fertility of the rice fields. Nevertheless, he was a Catholic. The Radja of Sikka has had several wives, even at the same time, and many concubines. At one time he had a Mohammedan wife and also a Mohammedan concubine. Each time he confesses and reenters the mother Church, to the rejoicing of the priests.
793 The priests here are evidently worse than death
178 for the old adat, much worse than the Protestants
797 in Ambon, and the people are scared of them, for

Wa

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong,
however, there is still plenty of this child
betrothal business. This may take place at
the age of three to four years. They are told
of this when they are from five to six years old.
As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual
marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for
a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the
bride price anyway. In the old days, however,
a boy never refused, or almost never. The
younger brother of the guru hated the girl he
was betrothed to as a child and ran away to
Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and
they were lost by so doing. Later the brother
married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting
of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman.
His wife was from Balela. Later, the present
kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from
Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a
part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

789 The guru's father had much magic power. He
776 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
178 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
825 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a
horse in front of the house one night when he
was young. He looked out and there stood a
buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area.
He called his father and the latter told him to
shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's
familiars. Another time the guru was in the
fields with his father and heard stones rattling.
He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here
either. He called his father, and again his

769 or ngadu. These and the bhaga, which I could
346 not see clearly but which are evidently merely
miniature rectangular houses for female ances-
tors, are notable features in just about all
of the Ngada kampongs. Arndt says the bhaga
are empty, but I wonder. These two sorts of
structures are erected by the prosperous folk
to show respect and honor to their dead ances-
tors. Each one is given the name of the ances-
tor. Evidently, a person may build one for
himself.

They are always built in pairs, one male and
one female.

159 The very fat Radja of Ngada came to the
634 pasanggrahan in a uniform with shoulder epau-
224 lets, four stripes, and above this a cluster
[292] looking like a sunburst. The uniform was white
and not unlike that of a KPM captain. He can't
write, and is still a pagan, but he says that
his children are Christian. He is very jolly
and although tolerant I can see that he thinks
little of the missions. He also criticized the
forced labor which the Dutch demanded for road
work when he was young. He said that anyone
who wouldn't follow orders, including the
radjas, was jailed or deposed. He is the man
who joked about the Dutch and the "modern"
Florenese. He never does much in administration,
[595] but likes to hunt and has many wives. He told
us that he has many children and grandchildren.
He gets in trouble with the government for burn-
ing the vegetation in deer hunts. He said it
is necessary to kill deer as otherwise they
would hurt the gardens. This land has practi-
311 cally no trees on it, but consists mostly of
[137] rolling naked hills as a result of overburning.
[133] Maybe the priest was right who said that he
[224] thought they were a hunting folk before and in
those days they burned off the whole area in
[241] deer drives. Now they burn off the vegetable
[See pp 366-69 of Arndt as cited in bibliography,
Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

We

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, [^] they must be repaid. The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a
man buys a child, who then becomes one of his
own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582

595

1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way.
The last two may intermarry, also either way.
Polygamist marriages are possible, and this
goes even for the Christians who do so in order
to have more children. He talked as though
polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not
so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of
dalul. The children are of gelarang.

624

621

342

534

Then we got onto the subject of the social
organization of Weol. He said that there is a
tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
explain later, as it is a long story. There is
also a medicine man, and he is important in
ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the
kampong later on the sheets.

[178]

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjan-
tsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara,
on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah
tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rec-
tangular house, which was an unknown thing here
before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular
house, there is a main post or rather a place
which serves as a main post, and here the tuan
tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan
tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[^] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

belebang.
609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the phonetics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. [194] The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173
621
● 595 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social organization. There seems to be a vague ranking according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

~~Ma~~
584 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about
836 the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no adat rite of marriage. What happened in the old days and what still goes on among the pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old days this was more frequent, but even now there are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 They are very prudish about molesting girls
832 (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the
72 breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and
128 says nothing, her father and brothers, if they
627 hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 He gave a fine case of trouble between kam-
684 pongs resulting from such a case. In his youth
628 three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

We

832 those rascals. They scolded them, saying that
684 if they wanted women, they should ask about
628 them, and speak up about it. That is, they were
willing to hear a request, but it had to be done
through regular channels without chiseling.
("If you had come to us decently, etc.")

582 In regard to the relative ages of the couple
when marriage takes place, the ideal is to have
a couple whose ages are nearly the same. If
either is older it is better for a boy to be a
bit a girl's senior. If there is too great a
discrepancy in age, it is not good.

• 595 His grandfather had four wives. I note that
183 he does not seem to regard polygyny as very bad,
even now. And he does not hesitate to tell me
that other Christians do this. It is simply
that they do not get the sacramen for the second,
or third, or even later wife. That's all. Dis-
pensation is called isin.

582 He says that the people in Tandjung Bunga
836 marry when they are very young, and that they
begin their sex life as early as nine years old.

178 In the old days, the boys in Leloba and Wailo-
513 long slept regularly in the korke or sebuang
882 (the ama korke, and this is a correction:
346 sebuang does not refer to the barns of the ama,
614 but to the cult houses). I think he said that
this is not done any more in Wailolong. It was
not required, but they just did it. This took
place after a boy reached the age of about six-
teen. Roy did it himself. They liked this be-
cause it was more fun. They could talk, sing,
discuss girls, etc. (I think it was practically
a rule, and I wonder what they would have said
if a boy did not go there.)

178 What has happened now is peculiar. The boys
513 sleep together in groups, wherever it seems
882 good. They get in the habit, for example, of
171 sleeping on the benches of a certain house, or
in a vacant house, etc. (Thus I see that the

R

771 families which are split (e.g., Migo has Mohammedan relatives, including a hadji) talk very little about religion except for such things as how was the trip to Mecca, etc.

582 This led to the matter of marriage. Migo
797 said that there might be trouble with religious differences in marriage, but there had not been much fuss yet. There are two or three cases of Catholic men who became Mohammedan in order to marry Mohammedan girls. There is no case yet of a Mohammedan becoming a Catholic in order to marry.

This led to a discussion of a case where a Catholic married a pagan. Usually the pagan agrees to a church wedding, but there are some cases where the pagan will not agree, and then they just live together.

595 Then I got some real data: There are Catho-
183 lic men who have two wives. They marry the first wife in the church, and just live with the second. The second wife is often a pagan. Thus the kepala kampong has a second wife, and she is the young beauty who was among the crowd who got into the jeep one time going to Ende. I tried to speak to her, but she was wide-eyed and said nothing. She looked like a wild animal. She is illiterate and one hundred per cent pagan. Thus he admitted that there are still young pagans (are they mostly men or women?). She was perhaps twenty years old. I asked if the pastors nag about this, and he said no. Evidently the pastors are not concerned about these people. They just preach that it is not right (but evidently they go easy on such cases, because they are afraid that they might turn some of the individuals against the church. Thus, how could they excommunicate the kepala kampong?) As for the children of mixed pagan-Catholic marriages, he said that there are some arguments. Evidently, here again the whole level is so low that it does not amount to much.

R

581 behavior. Looks are a mere by-matter. The same holds for women. They like good workers for husbands (men must keep at the gardens); and as far as I could see, that is about all. I wonder if men should be decent (I doubt that looks are thought of much if at all), as long as they work. These people are way beneath any aesthetic stuff in love (but it may be there in its own way!).

836 They insist that there is not one case of
[848] a bastard in their memory. However, yesterday I got the impression that boys have a chance with, for example, widows sometimes. But evidently the girls just stay virgin. They hammer on this; it is and always was a one hundred per cent rule, and that a girl would try to fool on this is considered a terrific thought.

177
797 In the family the Catholics have tried to
595 stop: (1) polygny (but this goes on), (2)
587 levirate and sororate (but this goes on), (3)
582 mother's brother's daughter marriage (they do this with more distant relatives in order to keep up the form). This is interesting.

789 In regard to the nobility, I can get no re-
753 action on ideas of magic power, and they say
[565] that even the Radja of Ende does not have any. They say that he is new anyway. He is just a big man from the Djari Djawa suku (but the radja must come from this, but I got the idea that Nggobe might get in too). I asked if maybe the mosa laki had any, and they said no. If they do not obey they just become angry, and it is better to stay on their good side as they control the land and they are the big men anyway. There is no magic punishment. Thus they are different even from Larentuka. The only things which have magic power are taboo places, for example, the rumah pemali, the grave-bone shrines, and the old ancestor places. Breaking such taboos can cause illness, and the

We
124 kampong, Tjantjar, and there the guru and the other person and a pastor from Maumere were found. The guru had received no letter from van Bekkum, and was afraid to start work until he had it. Also, there was an inspection of schools today. I got angry, and threatened to leave the place. Then we decided to go to Ruteng to van Bekkum, and when there it turned out that the latter had sent the leave papers to Pau, the guru's kampong, one-half kilometer from the mission, but it never reached there, or something happened. Anyway, we finally got things straightened out and we began work at the pasangrahan. Tomorrow I will be at Weol.

We started by inspecting the records, which, though they have been filled out, have many holes. His map is good, but needs touching up. I don't know yet how his answers are. As for the questionnaire, I got as far as the end of the Weol names, but not onto the Ndung names. The following are some of the holes:

592 1. In exactly which houses do the various
582 households live? There are only six houses in
595 Weol (nine houses in Ndung). Incidentally, I note much polygamy. The kepala kampong has six wives. There are plenty of extra-kampong marriages, as there must be if there is kampong exogamy. But there are some endogamous va'u marriages. So far there are no endogamous panga marriages. Each house has a tu'a mbaru, and if in a house there is a tu'a panga he is also the tu'a mbaru. But there is one house, that of tu'a tenu, which has the latter for the tu'a mbaru, but there is another tu'a panga therein. There are tu'a mbaru who are not tu'a panga.

2. Religion is not noted.

565 3. The assistant did not note the class and clan and totem of those who married into the kampong, who were mostly women, but some were

We

609 presence too. They are always apprehensive. They are afraid of new things, such as schools (at least when they first came in). They are an apprehensive lot, and their history offers a good explanation. I can see this even in the assistant. Also, as the Maumere pastor says, they are extremely respectful. They hold one hand to receive a cigarette, and the tuan tanah and others, when they leave me, bend way over. [576] Sikka, he says, is different.

576 These people remind me of the "oppressed" and noble-ridden Buginese and Makassarese, and indeed through their contact with Bima they came under the same system of respect and the like. The pastor says that fifteen years ago they crept before a superior. How different they are from the Ambonese, or even to some degree different from the Larantuka and Ende people, although the latter are more this way (but how much less!). The Toradja were much different too. They were not hit so hard by the Buginese slave raids evidently. And it must be remembered that Buginese administration never really penetrated Toradja land.

797 The church does not mix in politics here. The Catholics entered here about 1922. They went slow, and they are still not moving at a very fast rate. About fifty per cent of the population here now is Christian, says the assistant. In getting information for the records [595] the assistant found it difficult to get information on polygamy. 124 I note that there are several interesting cases. For example, the tuan tanah of Veol rode to Ruteng with me today, with his second wife, who is young. She is a Catholic, but they were not married in church. The kepala kampung has six wives, and number five is Catholic, but there was no church wedding in this case either. However, there are other troubles in getting information, and he

We

771 should not pray. Also, a Catholic may not
788 initiate ceremonies by himself, for example,
183 house rites. I wonder what happens to a
Catholic who lives in a house with the little
hanging shelves for the naga. There the shelf
is over their heads, and I wonder if they do
not give offerings. If I had the time I would
like to trail a Catholic around; my guess is
that most of them do not worry too much about
orthodoxy. There is still a lot of friction
here.

875 There is a guru agama for Veol and Ndung,
793 but he lives in Rai. Usually there is a guru
agama for each kampong, but these are twins.
Usually one pastor serves one or two dalu.
Rahong has the Maumere man, who lives in Tjant-
jar.

797 Most conversions are made of the young
through the school. There are no cases of chil-
dren converting their parents. There are rela-
tively few direct adult converts. The school
does the trick. A convert must first be a
catechumen and learn the ropes. This lasts for
one to two years.

797 The priests worry a lot here about what to
183 do, because adat is so dependent on the old
578 ceremonies. In Larantuka they have tried to
595 Christianize the pagan rites, etc. Right here
there is a real problem, as the heir apparent
of the big tuan tanah of Veol is Catholic. The
assistant says van Bekkum has discussed what
should be done with him. Then too there is the
matter of polygamy, which is very strong here.
Most of the outright opposition to Catholicism
comes from men or women who, because of a plural
marriage, are not looked upon favorably by the
[783] church. There is no possible idjing (dispensa-
tion, according to Oudehand's version) for this.
This is a head-on conflict, especially because
they desire so many children. The polygamists
i [Pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]; 2 [See bibliography,
cat. 113--Analyst]

We

797 are the ones who most often get lost to the
183 church, and they are the ones who fight bitterly
578 against the church. Perhaps here Mohammed-
595 danism might have an advantage, but the pig
necessity at ceremonies would stop it cold.
These people can get along without more than
one wife, but without pigs the whole ritual
life would be unthinkable. Thus each church
has its weakness.

634 The first Radja of Manggarai, Baruk, was
595 put in by the church, actually. He was a
797 Catholic. The present one has two wives, one
518 of them a Minahasan. The mission is worried.
183 This is why the radja is only a deputy or acting
radja and not a full radja. The mission runs
Flores and will not agree to let him become a
real radja as long as he remains a polygamist.
The mission is on the spot. Probably the pre-
sent man will never get the full status. This
is checked by Degens, the Controleur.

Later, in Waingapu, Oudehand, the former
Controleur in Larantuka, told me that the Radja
of Larantuka also has several wives and keeps
them, although he is "Catholic." One of them,
the head one, is the daughter of the Sikka Radja.

This is all beautiful material in regard to
acculturation and Catholicism. The Catholics
are as tolerant as they can be, but they can't
accept polygamy.

554 Note: The title nyora (from Portuguese sen-
177 hora) is used here as in Ambon for the guru's
171 wife. I don't know whether it is also used, as
in Ambon, for a chief's wife.

771 There is no Mohammedanism here, and no ten-
dency toward Mohammedanism. Polygamy would
work out all right, but the pig taboo would be
very difficult indeed.

162 Degens says that the population of Manggarai
is about one hundred and ninety thousand. Of
these, about ninety thousand are Christian.

R

162	Odja--Gusa	3--3	Djawa--Gusa	2--0
614	Odja--Reandona	2--0	Wadja--Odja	3--0
582	Odja--Woro	2--1	Reandona--Ndoru	2--0
	Gusa--Wanda	3--0	Penawuri--Baoru	2--0
	Gusa--Soa	2--0		

Thus, of the 15 frequencies, 11 are not reversed; 4 are. This might look a bit like mother's brother's daughter marriage. Note that Wanda never marries into any of the Big 5; but perhaps this does occur in Watu Rota (?).

To get anywhere in this area on the subject of marriages, one would have to collect this sort of data for all cases or from many kampongs. My guess is, whatever the original system was, that there are no marriage classes. However, there probably is a lot of mother's brother's daughter marriage.

Polygyny cases: (numbers refer to ages)

- (1) 38: 30, 20 (sisters); Odja-Meo; pagan; illiterate; No. 5.
- (2) 30: 25, 20; Odja-Ndoru, Meo; Christian, Christian, pagan; illiterate, 3, illiterate; No. 8.
- (3) 50: 50, 50; Odja-Reandona, Wanda; pagan; illiterate; No. 24.
- (4) 40: 30, 20; Ndosi-Wanda, Odja; Christian, pagan, pagan; illiterate; No. 54.
- (5) 45: 45, 45, 45; Odja-?, Wanda, ?; pagan; illiterate; No. 62 (giri tumba).
- (6) 50: 50, 35; Wadja-Odja; pagan; illiterate; No. 313.
- (7) 30: 20, 18; ?-Rewarangga; Christian; 3, 3, illiterate; No. 426.
- (8) 40: 30, 40; Bangova-Wanda, ?; Mohammedan; 3, illiterate, illiterate; No. 554.

There is not much to say about classes and

5: Kennedy--431 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OBI Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

614 Size of Pangas: Veol: 25, 30, 37--62
592 Ndung: 36, 44-80

The houses are usually mixed as far as clans
are concerned.

Polygyny: Veol (3 cases)

595
771
614

(Numbers refer to ages)

212 Case No. 1 50: 46, 45, 30, 25, 20, 20.
The 5th is Catholic, the
others are pagan.
2 are of the same clan, the
others from different clans.
1 is sekontun, 1 mangko pitu,
1 lampang, 1 dalu, and 2 gela-
rang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 7 50: 46, 30
The 2d is a Catholic, the first
pagan.
They are from different clans.
1 is mangko pitu, 1 dalu.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 12 45: 40, 40.
Both are pagan.
They come from different clans.
One is dalu, 1 gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Polygyny: Ndung (4 cases)

Case No. 27 50: 47, 30.
Both are pagan.
They are from different clans.
Both are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

5: Kennedy--432 E-5 (1949-1950) 1955 OBI Indonesia
Flores OF9

We

- 595 Case No. 207 40: 37, 30, 25.
771 The 2d is a Catholic, the others
614 are pagan.
212 All three are from different
clans.
All are gelarang.
All are illiterate.

Case No. 235 30: 27, 30, 30.
The 1st is Catholic, the others
pagan.
All three clans are different.
1 is mangko pitu, the others
are gelarang.
The husband has finished three
grades; the wives are illite-
rate.

[587]

(Note: The 2d wife lives in
another house with her children.
Because the children are of the
same clan as her present husband,
and she is a widow, this is per-
haps a case of levirate.)

Case No. 307 30: 25, 25.
Both wives and husband are
Christian.
Both clans are different.
Both are gelarang.
The husband has finished 3
grades, the wives are
illiterate.